SOME NEW ROOKS.

Light on the Reign of Napoleon III, The extremely interesting and no doubt trust worthy reminiscences which have been pub-lianed in the Century Magazine, are now reprinted in book form by the Century Company under the title of Life in the Tuilertes Under the Second Empire, by ANNA L. BICKNELL. The author was an inmate of the palace for some nine years, having been selected to discharge the functions of governess, in the court sense of the word, to the daughters of the Comte Charles de Tascher on in Pagerie, a relative of the Emperor on the maternal side. It will be remembered by those familiar with the history of the First Empire that the Comte de Tascher de la Pagerie, a first cousin to the Empress Josephine, had been called to the court of Napoleon I. when scarcely more than a boy in years. He soon became a great favorite, not only of Josephine, but also of the Emperor, whom he followed in some of his campaigns, though he was oftener under the command of his cousin. Prince Eugene de Beauharnals. At the time of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise, the young Comts de Tascher was united, with the Emperor's approval, to the Princess Amalie von der Leyen, daughter of a mediatized prince. The fall of the First Empire destroyed the prospects of the young pair. Louis XVIII. offered an important post at his court to the Comte de Tascher, but the menter preferred to follow his cousin, Prince Eugene, who, having married a princess of Bavaria, chose Munich for his place of residence in exile. Here he remained on terms of the greatest intimacy and affection with Prince Eugene, and, after the latter's death, became his sister's most trusted friend and counsellor. When the end of Queen Hortense drew near she summoned the Comte de Tascher to her bedside to receive her last instructions and bear her last wishes. He it was who attended to all that was needful after her death, and obtained from the Government of Louis Philippe permission to bring back her remains to her native land. There was consequently a strong tie of regard, respect. and confidence between Prince Louis Napoleon and his mother's relative and faithful friend, his own strangely varied fortunes brought him to the position of which he had always dreamed, he immediately called the Comte de Tascher and his surviving son, Charles, to his bachelor court at the Elysée and they were subsequently installed at the Tulleries, where, in the household of the Empress, the Comte de Tascher himself held the post of Grand Maitre and his son Charles that of First Chamberlain. The latter, by the way had already inherited the title of duke from his mother's uncle, the Duke of Dalberg, but respect for his father had prevented the young man from taking precedence of him till, at a later period, the Count himself insisted on his doing so, when a decree signed by the Emperor authorized the Comte Charles de Tascher to bear the title of duke, by which, accordingly, be is always designated in the book before us.

It was creditable to the magnanimity of the Empress that she should have given the Taschers places of distinction near her person. The Comte de Tascher had always felt the importance of a suitable marriage for the Prince Louis Napoleon, and had greatly exerted himself to negotiate several alliances of which he approved and which had been nearly completed In the early youth of the Prince a marriage had been arranged by his family with the Princess Mathilde, his cousin, the daughter of the ex-King of Westphalia, but this was broken off after the failure of the Strasburg conspiracy. Other negotiations undertaken by the Comte de personally in the hope of obtaining the hand of this or that German princess had fallen through in consequence of the ill will of their respective courts. Nevertheless, he hoped that rising fortunes of the Prince, when President of the French republic, would finally sur mount all difficulties, and the idea that, as Emperor, he would marry the beautiful Spanish with whom, as President, he had flirted at Compeigne, never gained firm lodg-ment in the mind of the devoted friend of early days. When, therefore, immediate after the proclamation of the empire, the intentions of the new Emperor were con municated to the Comte de Tascher and his son, the latter were painfully surprised, and warmly remonstrated, pointing out the complications which would be added to his already difficult position by the act of raising to the throne of France a private gentlewoman, however attractive, without consulting the will of the nation. They reminded him that the case of his grandmother, Josephine, to which he had referred, was not parallel; she was more than her husband's equal when she married him, and had risen with him. As the Emperor would listen to no expostulations, they finally declared leave him and return to Germany. At this the Emperor, who was pacing the room, sud-denly turned round, exclaiming with unusual vehemence: "So, because you look upon me as a drowning man, you will leave me and refuse to give me a beloing hand?" This was startling and distressing: they were silent. The Emperor then made a strong appeal to their feelings of old friendship, and induced them not only to welcome his bride, but to accept the two most important posts in her future court. The Empress, it seems, was fully aware of their conscientious opposition to her marriage, and this knowledge naturally caused some constraint at first; but we are told that her sincere nature soon appreciated the noble and chivalrous char acter of the old Count, and the honest devotedness of his son, when once they had given their allegiance. The ladies of the family then came to the Tuileries, where, as we have said, apart ments were provided for them, and where the Emperor received them with kindness, recalling heartily old times and bygone recollections

It is evident that the author of this book had exceptional opportunities of observation; but, some of the impressions made upon her by the Emperor and Empress let us note what she has to say about certain conspicuous members of the court, beginning with the Due de Morny and the Comte Walewski, the former of whom, it is well known, was the illegitimate brother of Napoleon III., while the latter was the illegitimate son of Napoleon I. It appears that the Duc de Morny put forward the notorious fact that he was a son of the Emperor's mother, Queen Hortense, on every possible occasion, in a manner showing a complete absence of all innate delicacy of feeling. His gentlemanlike demeanor and courtly grace are said to have been unsurpassed; nevertheless, the flower of the hydrangea called by the French Hortensia, surmounted by a royal crown, figured significantly on the panets of his carriage, and, in general, nothing that could recall his birth was overlooked. author recalls that after a special embassy to Russia, on the occasion of the coronation of Alexander II., the Duke married a young Princess Troubetskol, who, according to public rumor, was an illegitimate daughter of Czar Nicholas. It was in allusion to this report that Morny cynically said: "I am the son of a Queen, the brother of an Emperor, the son-in-law of an Emperor -et c'est tout naturel." Even at the court of Napoleon III., where there was not much austerity of principle, the effrontery of this speech caused disgust. As regards appearance, we are told that Morny was very like the Emperor, but much better looking; taller and of fine flaure, with more elegance and charm of manner. He was guided only by selfinterest, and was esteemed by nobody; but his natural cleverness, his determined spirit, and his wonderful power of attracting the most ill-disposed, made him a valuable auxiliary to the Emperor, to whom his loss was an irreparable misfortune. His wife, the Princess Croubetskol, is described as one strange beings whose tempers whims, and caprices would require energetic repression in the case of children six years old, and which are astounding when met with ong women supposed to have reached years of discretion. Mme, de Morny was very pretty; but her fragile little figure was as thin as a skel eton, and her small hands were like a bird's daws. Her features were very delicate and her pale complexion of dazzling fairness; but her ose was as sharp as a needle, and her dark

reverse of attractive. The sharp black eyes were in startling contrast to her flaxen hair, which was so light as to be almost silvery, so that she was called the White Mouse. How little under control her temper was is clear from an incident recounted in this volume. At a ball given at the Tulleries there was a fancy dance in which the characters of fairy tales were represented. Mme, de Morny sat down by the Comtesse de Tascher and our author to see the dance. Unfortunately for them, the Due de Dino, who had chosen the extraordinary disguise of the "stump of a and who, accordingly, was swathed in bands of brown linen, with all supposed young shoots standing out like a bush round his head, brought his figure just before the ladies. Being a small man, be was exactly on their level, the bush forming a complets screen. They were all annoyed, though naturally silent; but Mme. de Morny, addressing him in a haughty, imperious tone, cried: Otez-vous de la!" (Go away from there.) He turned, looked at her from head to foot with ineffable disdain, but did not move. She uttered a flerce growl, and like a small tigress flew at him, seizing him by the branches round his head, and trying to pull them forcibly aside. He took no notice, and falling in her attempt she was forced to sit down in a state of fury. It is suggested that such an exhibition of temper in the court ballroom gives some idea of the home delights which she provided for her husband. The author remembers a large official dinner party where the Tascher family were among the guests, and where the Duc de Morny was obliged to do the honors alone because, in a fit of ill humor and caprice, his wife refused to appear. He was, however, quite equal to the occasion, and to many another of the same kind, playing his part of host with apparently unruffled equanimity.

A striking contrast to Morny was presented in Comte Walewsk!, who also figured conspicuously in the councils as well as at the court of Napoleon III. His origin was sufficiently rerealed by his speaking likeness to Napoleon III His was a more agreeable version of the wellknown face of the great Emperor than was that of Prince Napoleon. The Comte de Tascher had a small portrait of Napoleon I. which, as he told our author, was the best likeness he had seen. This portrait was reproduced in Comte Walew ski. The features, the peculiar pallor, the shade of the gray-blue eyes, and their expression, were all there. Unlike Morny, however, Comte Wa-lewski had the good taste to keep the explanation in the background. At a court reception he happened to hear a lady say to another: 'How wonderfully like his father!" He turned and with the stiff, rather haughty demeand which made him, in some degree, repellant, he gravely remarked: "I was not aware, madame, that Comte Walcurski and the honor of being per sonally known to you." We are told that he was not considered agreeable, showing too much of the statesman in private life; but he was a gentleman, and more esteemed than Morny, although not so much liked. His wife greatly assisted him in obtaining some popularity by her graceful and amiable ways.

It is not disputed that between Napoleon I

and the late Prince Napoleon (son of Jerome, ex-King of Westphalia), there was a wonderful likeness; but the expression of the faces is de-clared to have been very different. In the good portraits of the great Emperor the clear eyes have a singularly piercing glance, at once conveying the idea of a commanding genius. With the same cast of features, there was something peculiarly low and thoroughly bad in the face of Prince Napoleon which recalled the stamp of the worst Casars. He possessed undoubtedly brilliant talents, which, had he chosen to develop them, might have recalled his uncle in some degree, but, in point of fact, he only caricatured the worst points of the Corsican adventurer, and was heartily disliked and despised by men of all classes and all political opinions, outside of a small circle of private friends. According to the testimony of this witness, his will was despotic, his temper violent and brutal; his tastes were cynically gross, and his language was coarse beyond what could be imagined. While affecting tendencies of the nost revolutionary and radical type, he was essentially a tyrant and could brook no opposition to his wishes, which were always brutally expressed. He was lealous of the Emperor's preminent position, as of something stolen from himself: but, though in a state of chronic rebellion, he never hesitated to accept all the worldly advantages which the t tie of "cousin" could obtain for him. Our author's observations convinced her that the Emperor felt a sort of indulgent affection for Prince Napoleon, and, had the latter chosen to make use of his undeniable talents and to properly discharge the duties of the position which he had accepted, he might, during the empire, have played an important political part. As a matter of fact, however, never were natural gifts more misapplied. He could bear no restraint, no interruption in his life of sensual pleasure, and he never persevered in anything that he undertook if any personal sacrifice were required to carry it out. Everything that he attempted bore the stamp of sudden impulse never followed up. He seemed to delight in outraging public opinion, and so incessantly played the part of the bull in the china shop that Napoleon III. was kept in a state of constant anxiety as to what he would do next. Prince Napoleon's refusal to drink the health o the Empress in her presence on her birthday is cited as one of many incidents of his disregard of the manners of a gentleman, and we are assured that his real feeling for the Emperor was betrayed on more than one occasion. Thus, after the Pianori attempt on the Emperor's life, when Prince Napoleon came to present his one cial congratulations, his face was so eloquent of what lay beneath the surface that the Empress, turning to one of her ladies, whispered in English: "Look at the Prince Napoleon!" Anothe fact of which only an inmate of the Tuileries It seems that after the famous revolutionary speech in the Senate which brought down upon Prince Napoleon a withering response from the Duc d'Aumale, the Emperor sent for his courin, and his voice, usually soft and low, was heard raised in anger and indignation even in the dis tant waiting room of the attendants. There was, in fine, a violent scene, and when Prince Napoleon returned to the Palais Royal he vented his fury on a magnificent vase of Sèvres porcelain, which he dashed to pieces. Yet the author is impartial enough to acknowledge that the Duc de Tascher, who had said that he would rather serve the King of Dahomey than such a man, but who had heard the speech in the Sen ate, admitted with unwilling admiration: "But what an orator! He looked as handsome as Lucifer himself." The opinion of his personal friends as to what his future rule was likely to be was exemplified in the answer of one to whom, after the fall of the empire, Prince Napo leon said: "If ever I am Emperor, you shall have an important post." "Monseigneur," was the answer, in the laughing tone needful to render a bold remark acceptable, "if ever you should be at the head of public affairs, I would take to my heels the very next day, for you would not be easy to deal with." The Prince was not offended at the blunt frankness of the speaker, for he was acute enough to despise sycophants and to appreciate independence even in those who made him understand that they would not endure his unmannerly ways. On such occasions he has been known to say, by way of apology: "Oh, my dear - excuse me, I am ili bred." (Je suis mal-élevé.) Notwithstanding his democratic opinions and plebelan tastes Prince Napoleon was extremely proud, with the pride of birth inherited from his German nother, the Princess Catherine of tembers. He had royal blood in his veins, and was as determined to carry

IV. With regard to Prince Napoleon's sister, the Princess Mathilde, the author testifies that, with the same striking Bounparte cast of eyes had a flerce, waspish expression the very features as her brother had, she was, like him, | voice had the harsh, guttural sound so frequent | the former in prose, the latter in poetry, and of grammar; herein was laid the foundation | their walls, and even the city itself, were founded

out ebenburtig (equal birth) requirements

looked down on Napoleon III. as the son of a

private gentlewoman and the husband of an-other. "Tam of too great lineage for that," was

a saying of his; and his ambition was finally grat

ified by obtaining the hand of a King's daughter

the descendant of an ancient reigning house.

s any Prince of the German confederacy.

"Ill bred." in fact, a Corsican semi-barbarian. She had possessed great beauty, and in her youth, as we have said, had been betrothed to Napoleon III. Perhaps It was for that reason that she hated the Empress Eugenie, of whom she spoke in offensive terms. As years went by, though still retaining the classical lines of her characteristic Teatures, she had become as coarse in her personal appearance as she always was in her language and manner. It is not denied, however, that she was clever and artistically gifted; she was principally surrounded by men belonging to literary and artistic sets. It is also conceded that she was very good natured to all around her, and a kind, sympathizing friend in need. It would be hard to conceive of a woman less

congenial than the Princess Mathilde to the young and innocent girl who became the wife of Prince Napoleon. According to the author of this book the Princess Clothilde was, and is still, a princess of medieval times, a Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, neither very educated nor very clever, caring only for her religious practices and her works of charity. The Princess Clotilde was too much like her father to possess beauty, but her royal bearing and graceful figure were at first greatly admired. The latter, however, did not long retain the elegance of its lines, and the Princess soon ceased to pay much attention to her toilet, lansing even into a care essness which greatly annoyed her husband No one has any influence over her, and what she considered her duty was performed with a sort of gentle, placid stubbornness which allowed of no expostolation. The ladies who had been first appointed to attend her were treated with such rudeness by Prince Napoleon that one after another sent in her resignation, so that, finally, the Princess had only around her ladies chosen out of the circle composed of his friends and their wives whose ways and opinions were irreconcilable with her own. She was not attracted, either, by the gay doings of the imperial court, where she only appeared on necessary occasions, being herself accustomed to traditional eliquette, and combining the pride of rank which she considered proper dignity with a real, Christian humility, "She is a true princess," was commonly said of her. We are told that at the present time she attends the poor like a hospital sister, wearing hospital aprons, and shrinking from no act of charity, however repul-sive. Although, however, when she rises, she dresses without assistance, her attendants are required to be within reach, and in readiness to rive their services, because it is proper that such should be the case; no usage of etiquette is overlooked, simply because it is right that she should be treated as a royal princess. Thus has t always been; during the empire, even in her early youth, no one dared to show the least familiarity in her presence. She spoke very little. and encouraged no one else to do so. Never to any one did she express her private opinions, or utter anything more definite than truisms,

T. Before passing to the account of the Emprey word may be said about the Princess Metternich. We are told that this lady had no beauty: her face was of absolutely simian type, only redeemed by bright, intelligent eyes; her complexion was dark, her mouth was large, and her nose was flat. Even her figure was more than slender, and devoid of all beauty of form; yet, owing to her remarkable elegance of demeaner her animated expression of countenance, and her richly fashionable dress, she was considered attractive notwithstanding her physical disadvantages. There seems to have been in her an inexplicable mixture of innate high breeding and acquired tastes of a low order. When she appeared in society, at her very entrance there could be no mistake. From head to foot she was the high-born lady, the grande dame. She had, however, an extraordinary inclination for walking on the edges of moral quagmires, and peeping into them with a proud conviction that her foot could never slip. There are stories of her imprudent adventures but our author is convinced that she escaped unscathed, and had no other motive in seeking them than a foolish, morbid curiosity as to peo ple and matters which should never have been even mentioned in her presence. She acted with a degree of rashness and folly that would have ruined most women; yet no one really attacked her reputation; all allowed that, according to the expression of a lady of the court, she had never crossed the Rubicon. We are assured that, in spite of her vagaries, the Princess Metternich was far from being sitly. On the contrary, she had considerable wit and great sharpness of repartee. As she did not care what she said, her retorts were ofter very clever, and always amusing, though too free to be repeated. She affected masculine manners, When she first arrived in France, she had been invited with other ladies to Complegue, and, on their return in the train, Lord Cowley, then British Ambassador, asked if he might be indulged in a cigarette. The young ambassadress drew from her pocket a cigar case of most masculine appearance. offered him a formidable cigar, and took one herself. Her will alone seemed to her sufficient to justify her acts. Thus, haughty as she was, she did not hesitate to invite to her dinner table the notorious Theresa, a singer whom no one else at that time would have dared to receive yet from whom the Princess Metternich condescended to take lessons, in order to sing her oold songs with duly pointed emphasis. On the whole the author's conclusion is that the mischief done by the example of the Princess Metternich in Parisian society was incalculable. She threw down the barrier which hitherto had separated respects ble women from their disreputable sisters and led the way to a liberty of speech and action which were before unknown. It is acknowledged that she was much attached to her husband, and that, in essentials, she was a good wife, but it is pointed out that others les favorably situated may not have escaped, as she did, from the natural consequences of look ing too closely over the frontier of the debatable land. Some incidents indicate that the ex cessive pride of the Princess Metternich may have led her to imagine that in Paris she migh do anything without compromising her dignity She was intimate with a lady who, although received everywhere in Parisian society, did not seem sufficiently her equal in to become her friend. To a remark or the subject, she answered carelessly: "Oh it is well enough here; of course, could not see her in Vienua." She was reporte to have made a still more impertinent speech at Complegne while on a visit there. The short looped-up skirts were just beginning to be worn the Empress had not yet habitually adopted them, and the Princess Metternich had been urging her against the opinion of her ladies to appear thus dressed on the public occasion of the races in the town. When the Empresa left the room one of the ladies-in-waiting said to the Princess: "Would you give the same advice to

your Empress?" "Oh, no," said the Princess." But the case is quite different. The Empress Elizabeth is a real Empress." The author of this book bears witness to the remarkable beauty of the Empress. It was, she says, a beauty so perfect that, to be appreciated fully, a first glance was not sufficient. The more the whole form of the Empress was examined, the more the observer felt that it could not be surpassed and was rarely equalled. There were peculiarities, but no defects. The question as to the true color of the Empress's hair is answered in this volume. It appears that the Due de Tascher asked our author to tie a lock of hair given to him by his imperial mistress Holding the hair in her fingers, she was able, of course, to examine it closely. It was, she says beautifully soft and fine, and seemed 'made up of minute threads of reddish mingled with others, equally fine, of a darker color. Guranther was thus convince that no artifice was employed; any impartla observer could have discerned how totally dif ferent was the hue from that produced by hairfreszers' fluids or powders. The tint was the Venetian auburn of Titian's pictures, and the Empress had the wonderful complexion usually accompanying that rare shade. The bird's note was scarcely worthy of its plumage. She spoke French with a marked Spanish accent, and her

among Castilians. It appears that the Empress was extremely simple, not to say careless, in her home habits and in her neglige tollets, though the most ridiculous stories -re spread with regard to her supposed luxuries As to her character, the author avers that, in spite of a certain fondness for flirtation, she was essentially a spotless wife, as she had been a spotless bride, notwithstanding the calumnies which assailed her at the time of her marriage. Touching these calumnies, the Due de Tascher once volunteered to say when he was relating to the author the scene in which his father and he had remonstrated against the Emperor's intentions: "As to the Empress herself, my absolute conviction on my word of honor is that no purer bride ever knelt at the altar. Our objections were not against her personally, but on political grounds." This witness testifies that the nature of the Empress Engénie was high and noble, though what might have been great and good had been imperfectly developed, and remained ill-regulated under the management of a very worldly mother, who had lived sepa rated from her husband, who became a widow early, and who seems to have had very vague notions of what was desirable for her daughters, The latter, were sent from school to school, never remaining long in any, and, when introduced in society, they went from one place to another in a continual round of amusements, driving about at watering places, and indulging in a style which was considered fast. The habits thus acquired explain many of the Empress's mistakes when raised to her supreme position. She could be generous on important occasions, but small things escaped her notice. She had not the princely art of giving even trifling marks of remembrance on appropriate occasions, with graceful words of acknowledgment. It is suggested that, as the years of her girlhood had been full of debt and difficulty, the remembrance of these things may have had some in-

fluence on the want of liberality attributed to

per by those around her. From the point of view of lavish generosity, the Emperor presented a strong contrast to his wife. According to our author, who is certainly a trustworthy witness on this point, there never was a more amiable man in private life than Napoleon III., or one more absolutely unpretending. We are assured that fits constant gentleness and his unvarying patient kindness were preyed upon by many of those around him; but he was deeply loved by all who were in habitual personal, contact with him-more loved than was the Empress Eugenie, notwithstanding her personal charms. She was fanciful and tenacious in her fancies, which wishes despite difficulties and inconveniences The Emperor, always quiet, and e▼ n apathetic disturbed no one; but, if an appeal was made to his feelings, he could not resist. There was, it seems, a sort of tender-hearted, sentimental softness in his nature which recalled the "sensibility" of bygone days. It was doubtless in-herited from his mother, Queen Hortense, This often led him astray, and may be the real explanation of many errors, The author avers that he was far from being deliberately false; but, unluckily for him, he was more a man of feeling than man of principle. This led to weakness and vacillation; yet, like many others whose natures are too yielding, when he had finally taken a decision he was firm even to obstinacy. To one who saw him almost daily for nine years, it seems that anybody more unlike the bloodthirsty tyrant depicted by Victor Hugo and imagined. The sight of the battlefield of Solferino had left on his mind such an impression of horror as to destroy all dreams of military glory, and it was with the greatest unwillingness that he was drawn into the wars that followed, principally through the pertinacious pressure of the Empress Eugénie, who had not seen a battlefield, and who only knew the conventional pictures of glory and heroism, without their fearful cost.

Virgil in the Middle Ages. We are indebted to the Messrs, Macmillan for an English translation of a remarkable book Virgil in the Middle Ages, by Domenico Comparetti, professor at the University of Florence The aim of this work is to give a complete history of the mediæval conception of Virgil, to follow its various evolutions and vicissitudes, and to determine their nature, their causes, and their conception with the general history of European thought. What constitutes the difficulty of the task is the necessity of studying with equal thoroughness both classical and romantic literature. Prof. Comparetti is one of he few scholars who have combined both qualifications. The book before us is a monument of his comprehensive acquirements. It begins with an account of the period in which Virgil are devoted to the Virgil of literary tradition, as distinguished from the Virgil of popular legend who forms the subject of the rest of the volume.

It was, of course, in connection with the Eneld that the fame of Virgil among his contemporaries reached its highest point. By virtue of this epic he took rank not only as the greatest, but as the most essentially national of Roman poets. Living at a period when his na tion had reached the acme of its historical development, Virgil was compelled, while keep ing just so much idealism as the nature of an epic required, to fix his eyes on history, for his tory was the basis of that universal national feeling which had just then reached its highest pitch of intensity, and was more than ever in need of adequate expression. Conscious of his office, and aided in fulfilling it by a power of sympathy all his own, Virgil brought his poem both in subject and treatment, into such close connection with Roman history that it might almost be described as an introduction to it, while, at the same time, it is a poetical summing up of the impression that the history made on the minds of all those wno surveyed It. To command the admiration of a Roman audience, however, it was indispensable that a poet should be not only a patriot, but at the same time a rhetorician, a gramarian, and an antiquary. In such ancillary qualifications none of his contemporaries equalled Virgil, who, in addition to many other studies, had be stowed particular attention upon the Latin tongue, both as it then existed and also in its earlier forms, with a view to bringing it to perfection and making it an adequate vehicle of expression for his artistic conceptions. He knew, moreover, the secret of concealing his great learning, never displaying it ostentaclously, so as to make the poetry subordinate to it, and he was thus able to satisfy two entirely different classes, the learned few and the general public. The extraordinary skill evinced Virgil in his use and creation of poetical diction and in his treatment of metre, and the minuteness of his antiquarian researches, made with a view to giving his work correct local coloring, were the characteristics of his poems, which, aithough extrinsic and mechanical, made the most profound impression upon the Roman mind. Throughout the vicissitades which the conception of the poet underwent, this impression survived, and remained, however debased and distorted, exceptionally vivid in all the literary traditions of the Latir middle ages. Perfection of language seemed to the Romans such an essential in a work of art that it may be said to have been the chief point to which they looked in forming a judgment. In their opinion, felicity of language would atone for the absence of many other merits. This was because the development of Roman iit. erature had been far less natural than that of the Greeks. To reduce a rough and parbarous tongue into a form in which it could be the vehicle of a literature not national in its origin, but imported, as it were, suddenly from abroad, was a task of the greatest difficulty; this task it was that the carliest Latin writers set before them and upon which their attention was malnly concentrated. The whole of Latin literature up to Cicero and Virgil may be described as nothing but a series of experiments, in which efforts were continually made to mould the language according to those mathetic requirements which Greek influence had imposed upon taste. The

object was finally attained by Cicero and Virgil,

both of them succeeded so entirely in satisfying the ideal of a perfect language that all subsequent attempts in this direction were fore-doomed to failure. This achievement of theirs was regarded by the ancients as actually their chief merit, and owing to the intensity and universality of the desire which it satisfied, it was undoubtedly the principal cause of their fame

11, The greatest triumph gained by Virgil and the other Augustan poets was in the domain of education. It was unquestionably the perfection to which the Latin language had been brought by Virgil and Cicero, which tended far more than any educational reform of Augustus to encourage the teaching of grammar as a special profession. It is certain that, during the whole first century of the empire, and part of the second, the study of grammar was highly developed, and dominated the field of literature, giving rise to learned and important works by specialists, the contents of which were largely drawn upon by grammarians of a later date Virgil, embodying as he did, the highest demonstration of the capabilities of the Latin tongue was bound to be the supreme authority on ail grammatical questions. No other Latin was made the subject of study writer by so many grammarians, or called forth so many grammatical works. A good example of the esteem in which he was held is furnished by the work of Nonius composed toward the end of the third century, which was almost entirely a compilation from earlier treatises. In this book, which is of no great bulk, the number of examples from Virgil is well nigh fifteen hundred. The use, in fine, which the grammarians made of Virgil was so extensive that, if all the Virgilian MSS, had been lost, it would be possible from the notices given us by the ancients of the poems, and the passages quoted from them by the grammarians lone, to reconstruct practically the whole of the Bucolics, the Georgics, and the Æneid. grammar, and, we might add, in rhetoric, the authority of Virgil was supreme; his poetry was, so to speak, the bible of the ancients.

Virgil which were gradually evolved during the long period between the downfall of the Roman empire in the west and the Italian Renaissance. These legends are of two kinds, literary and popular. The literary legend, this term comprehending every unauthentic statement concerning Virgil which was current in the literary traditions, was characteristic of the medium in which, as we have just seen, his fame was preserved. It consisted of a number of particulars or anecdotes which occur separately, or in combination with historical notices and which, though incredible for historical reasons, contain in themselves nothing impossible supernatural. Such accretions were the direct product of the grammarians and teachers of rhetoric who found in Virgil a model and a storehouse; they were seldom pure efforts of the imagination, but were generally based on some story which was exaggerated, or upon some verse or allusion which was misunderstood. An anecdote cur rent among the commentators was one having reference to the hemistich of the Æneid, which describes Ascanius as "magna spesaltera Romer," the second hope of mighty Rome. In this case admiration for the poet is expressed by setting him side by side with the greatest master of Latin prose. Cicero having heard the Sixth Eclogue recited in the theatre of Cytheris, and being struck by the extraordinary genius i displayed, was said to have asked for the name of its author, and, having learned it, to have ex laimed, "Magno spes altera Rome:" he himself, of course, being the first. Virgil afterward intro luced the words into the Æneid, ascribing them to Ascanius. The people who started the story did not know that, at the date of the pub lication of the Eclogues, Cicero was alread; dead. Colossal is the anachronism of an Anglo Saxon writer, who, taking literally metaphorical expressions, considers Virgil as the contemporary and tutor of Homer. another strange confusion of various ideas we find it asserted that the Sibyl recited in person Virgil's ten Eclogues before the Roman Sen ate. There was further a tradition, not in itself improbable, which spoke of Virgil as receiving large sums from Augustus as a reward for his work. This tradition was particularly connected with the lines on Marcellus, for which Virgil is said to have received a sum of money in cash on the spot. The sum is fixed in an interpolated biography at 100,000 sesterces per line The same story with an absurd addition occurs in connection with a well-known distich, for which Virgil is said to have been rewarded by Angustus with a large sum of money and his "freedom." Not content with this, an author of the weltth century declares the for the same distich from A gustus the fief of the city of Naples and the province of Calabria Here we see an encounter between the literary and the popular legend, which latter was Ner politan in its origin and in which Virgil always figures as lord or patron of the city of Naple Of the sayings attributed to Virgil in literary traditions, some of them are manifestly founded on passages in his poems. These sayings do not offer any very striking features, and are for the most part little more than commonplaces. Yet they portray as a man of a mild and renial temperament, with a good supply of fact and com-mon sense. They describe him, too, as in high favor at court, and several of them take the form of answers to questions addressed to him

"I am searching for gold in a dunghill," is already found quoted in the sixth century. The liking of the ancients for collections of apothegms is well known, and probably some such collection of the dicta of Virgil was preserved in the works dealing with his life. Medieval ideas were of such a kind that Virgil was predestined to be the most popular of the Latin poets because in him his readers found, as it were, an historical echo of tha Roman feeling which so long survived the empire in the West, by which the minds of men for so many centuries were haunted, and which he had been so supremely to represent and interpret. The historical epoch, moreover, to which he belonged, and in which he had been so conspicuous a figure, was the one which was best and most commonly known, and formed the centre of every mediaval conception antiquity. The fact that he lived during the reign of Augustus at the beginning of the empire, and in such close prox lmity to the birth of Christ, served to place Virgil in the most favorable light for the mediaval mind, and played no small part in developing the historical side of his reputation Together with this went the religious and philo sophical aspect of the poet, by virtue of which he was regarded as a man who was "not far from the kingdom of God," and was furnished besides with an unfathomable store of universal wisdom. All the ancients, indeed, whether prose writers or poets, were looked upon as 'philosophers;" but the schools of grammar and rhetoric, which had never died out, kept chiefly the poets in view, and among them Virgil held the first sway. Hence throughout medieval times Virgil was the most widely known and popular of the ancient writers, though of course, he did not figure in the minds of relatively enlightened men as the sole representative of the wisdom of the ancients. When the scientific ardor and the strong intellectual movement which arose at the beginning of the twelfth century had given to Aristotic his well-known position in the schools of philesophy, he, too, was looked upon as omniscient. but Virgil still remained at the head, because his fame, while leading up to the idea of the phiopher, was connected with those more general and elementary studies of Latin with which, of course, Aristotle had nothing to do. The central point of Virgil's fame was always the school

by Augustus or Macenas. The admiration in

the very words put into his mouth

which he was held comes out in several cases in

of this part of the legendary biography is very

uncertain; there is much in it indicative of the

middle ages. Yet it would seem beyond doubt

that some of it belongs to an earlier period.

One of these sayings of Virgil, that on Ennius

of his mediaval celebrity. To sum up, then, the reputation of Virgil in the middle ages had three sides, the historical, the philosophical or religious, and the grammatical; last, though the lowest and most trivial, forms the base on which the others rest. As for the esthetic, or properly artistic, side in this conception, it is, as a rule, reduced to nothing, and the gap thus made is supplied by the expansion of the other fides, which, but for the absence of asthetic perception, could never have attained to such pro-

The Virgil of Dante is, on the whole, in accord with this conception, and is certainly not the real Augustan Virgil, but that ideal Virgit which resulted from the views peculiar to the middle ages. Not, or course, that Dante is a mere compiler of mediaval ideas. He is rather their interpreter and vitalizer. His type of Virgil, whether personal or symbolic, is far grander and more noble than could have been the outcome of a mere compilation of the ordinary notions of the age. Of the reasons which led Danto to choose Virgil for his guide in the Divine Comedy, many are self-evident. In the first place, Virgii was his favorite author, and the greatest poet with whom he was acquainted. Being, moreover, a great poet himself, Dante appreciated the art of Virgil as no other man of the middle ages had ever been able to do. He admired him further as the singer of the glories of Italy, and as a poet of Italian feeling. It was through Virgil that Dante had brought to maturity his lofty ideat of the empire, and all the elevated poetry which that implied. In the formation of this ideal Virgil had served him not merely as a theorist, but also as an actual, historical witness, both by the subject of his poem and by the period to which it Then, by following the system of allegorical interpretation which was in vogue in the middle ages. Dante found in the Eneid just that account of the soul's progress towards perfection which was the subject of his poem. Once more, in Dante's conception of the relation between reason and faith, and of the power of the intellect, unenlightened by revela-Let us turn now to the legends concerning tion, to attain to certain great truths, Virgil stood out preëminently among the great names of antiquity as the one who, according to medizval ideas, appeared the purest and the nearest to Christ, of whom he had been, however unconsciously, a prophet. Finally, in the construction of his great poem. Dante derived the main idea and many of the details from Virgil, and made more use of him than of any other writer in the course of his work.

How far Dante was raised above his con emporaries is exemplified in his refusal to adopt the popular legends about Virgil which were current in his time, and which had already gained a footing in literature. With these egends he must have been acquainted, yet there is not a single passage in his poem in which Virgil appears as a magician, or, indeed, approached that character in any way. If on reflects, indeed, upon the grandeur of Dante's conception and the discriminating nature of is admiration for Virgil, one cannot but recognize how distasteful must have been to him the follies of the Neapolitan populace. The way, too, in which he treats magicians and astrologers in his poems shows that deeds of magic would have failed to constitute for him the surpassing wisdom which the common people onsidered them to imply. Had he thought of Virgil as a magician, he would have had to put with Guide Bonatti, Asdente, and the rest, for whom the Latin poet evinces in the Divine Comedy only repulsion and disdain. The ruth is that Dante did not look in Virgil for anything foreign to those ideas of his that were associated with the name of poet, and, among those ideals, magic had assuredly no place. Granting, however, that Dante sought an em bodiment of the highest and purest type of earthly wisdom, we are still confronted by the mestion. Was he necessarily driven to choose Virgii? Of the many scholars who have dis-cussed the Dantesque Virgil, the author of this book is, so far as we know, the first to inquire why Dante, as a schoolman, should not rather have selected Aristotle. In Dante's time, omniscience was quite as generally attributed to Aristotle as to Virgil: in the region propper to scholasticism, the former's fame far surpassed the latter's, and Dante, like the rest of his compeers, would regard Aristotle as the supreme authority on philosophy and as the prince of human reason. As to him, also, there were not wanting legends; he, too, was believed to have come as near to being a Christian as was nos sible before the coming of Christ, and his pros pects of salvation were seriously debated Dante, moreover, in the theoretical part of his scheme of the empire, had not failed to make use of the authority of the Stagyrite. But Arise was a Greek, and no l alien to Dante as poet, who, therefore, never could feel that familiarity with him that he felt with Virgil, and, consequently, could not, on such an occasion as that offered in the Divine Comedy, have chosen him for his guide.

We pass from the Virgil of distorted literary

tradition to the Virgil of the popular legends which were already current, as we have said, in Dante's time. The literary tradition, while making Virgil omniscient, had never forgotten his main characteristic of poet, and never actually described him as a simple mathematician or astrologer, capable of working miracles, making talismans or the like. To establish the idea of Virgil as a wonder-worker there must have been a peculiar conception him already elaborated independently of literature among people. Prof. Com-paretti's investigations show that this conception of the magician is entirely popular in its origin, and only subsequently took a place in romantic literature, owing to the con genial soil which it found there prepared for it. The original home of the idea was Italy. Many of the illustrious names of Roman history had remained floating in the memory of the Italian people, disconnected with their historical surroundings, but preserving, none the less certain characteristics which had their origin in history, however much this history might be perverted by the limited capacity of the popular intellect, or the vagaries of fireside goestp Thus such names as Cresar, Catiline, Nero, and Trainn retained in the legends distinct person alities. The popular Virgilian legend originated in Naples; it was a popular founded on local records connected with Virgil's long stay in the city, and the celebrity of his tomb therein. It was associated with certain localities, statues, and monuments in the neighborhood of Naples, to which Viegil was supposed to have given a magical power. The belief had long remained entirely confined to the common people, and had found no artistic expression of any kind: it was little known outside of Naples, and little enough regarded in Naples itself; but foreigners who visited the place heard of it and recorded it, and thus it eventually passed not only into popular romance, but even into Latin works of a learned nature, for, in the one sphere no less than in the other, the general idea of Virgil was in harmony with such a legend. From the twelfth century onward, therefore, that is to say, from the beginning of romantic literature properly so called, one meets with a new phase in the conception of Virgil, the successive stages of which are examined in the last ten chapters of this book. The phase is distinct and new in that its origin and development are not, properly speaking, literary, but popular. The word popular does not, of course, imply that the coneption is in no way represented in learned literature, for it is necessary to trace its history with the assistance of a number of literary works; what is meant by the term is that the conception of Virgil's magical power originated among the people and was propagated in the popular traditions.

VII.

Among the earliest Latin authors who refer to the Neapolitan legends about Virgit is Conrad von Querfurt, Chancellor of the Emperor, VL, and his Vicegorent in Naples and Sicily. Conrad mentions them in a letter written in 1194, in which he carrates his impressions of his journey in Italy. He records with perfect faith the belief of the Neapolitans that

by Virgil, and that Virgil, moreover, had deposited with them as a palladium a small model of the city in a narrow-necked bottle. This palladium, which was to preserve Naples from all hostile attacks, had not prevented it from falling into the hands of the Imperialists, and If any one had a right to doubt its efficacy It was Conrad himself, who had taken the city and dismantled it. Conrad observes, however, that the reason why the pal-ladium had failed to act was that there was a crack in the glass, as was discovered when it was examined. The the glass, as other marvels which, according to Conrad, were attributed by the Neapolitans to Virgil, were a bronge horse, which, while it remained intact, prevented the horses there from breaking their backs; a bronze fly placed on one of the fortifled gates, which, while it remained there, drove away flies from the city; and a butcher's block, on which the meat kept fresh for six weeks. Besides, when Naples was infested, owing to the numbers of its crypts and subterranean dwellings, by multitudes of serpents, Virgil banished them all to beneath the gate known as the Porta Ferrea, and Conrad himself describes how the imperial soldiers, when demolishing the walls, hesitated long before this gate, for fear of letting loose all the serpents it was supposed to contain. Then again, Naples being troubled by the neighborhood of Vesuvius, Virgil proposed to remely this by setting up against the mountain a bronze statue of a man with a bent bow and an arrow ready on the a bent bow and an arrow ready on the string. This sufficed for a long time to keep the voicano quiet, till one fine day a countryman, not understanding why the figure should stand there forever with its bow drawn, fired off the arrow for it, and struck the edge of the crater, which there poon straightway recommenced its eruptions. In his anxiety, moreover, to provide in every possible way for the public good, Virgil had made near Bane and Futeoli public baths which were useful for every sort of liness, and had adorned them with plaster images, representing the various diseases and indicating the bath proper for each special case. In addition to all this, Conrad relates what was believed at Naples about the bones of Virgil. These, according to him, were buried in a castle surrounded by the sea, and, if they were exposed to the air, it became suddenly dark; a noise as of a tempest was beard, and the waves of the sea became violently agitated. This, Conrad, adds, he had seen himself.

It is manifest that the presence at Naples of the grave of Virgii must have played an important part in keeping his name alive in popular traditions. Whatever doubts may be thrown on the grave which, at the present day, is pointed out as Virgil's, or that which, in the middle ages, may have passed for such, it is an historical fact that Virgil wished to be buried as Naples, and that he actually was interred there. The notice in the life of Virgil ascribed to Dona tus is probably derived from the biography of the poet written by Suctonius 08-138 A. D., and is confirmed by other notices, which show that the grave of Virgil became the chief ornament at Naples, and attracted visitors just as if ment at Naples, and attracted visitors just as if it had been a temple, while Statius actually calls it templum. In the fifth century still, Sidonius Apolionaris speaks of the grave of Virgil as the boast of Naples. It is clear, therefore, that the Neapolitans, aceing this species of worship going on, must at least have had the name of the poet engraved on their memories. If no notices to this effect have come down to us from the earlier part of the middle ages, that is merely because the writers who could have given them of the total the tendence of the poet engraved on the rest in matters of this nature. From what is known, however, of the reverence with which Virgil continued to be regarded throughout western Europe, we may conclude that the Neapolitans must have been for many centuries accustomed to inquiries from all educated foreigners as to the poet's grave. In the tenth century, that is to say, at the time of the darkest barbarism, the author of the life of St. Athanasus, when giving utterance to an enthusiastic eulogy on Naples, with which he was well accuainted, mentions Virgil and the epitaph which the poet had composed for his own tomb. Later again, in the middle of the twelfth century, the Provençal troubadour, Guilhem Augier, when wishing to indicate Virgil, speaks of him as "him that Hes upon the shore at Naples," knowing that every one will understand his allusion. We can easily account, therefore, for the popular notion that the grave of Virgil was inimately connected with the welfare of the city, as well as for the cognate idea that, as Conrad says, the poet's bones, when exposed to the air, produced storm and tempest. Both these notions may well have been of ancient date. Such legends were common enough, even in pagan times. The value that the Athenians attached to the bones of Œdipus is well known, and similar beliefs were current elsewhere, flere we should observe that Naples, which had succeeded, though not without severe struggles, in preserving its independence almost without end of the t had been the shrine of some deity. Silius Italicus was accustomed to approach it as if it

IX.

All the popular ideas and legends relating to

Virgil-we have cited but a few of them-which had their origin at an early period and con-tinued to develop and spread during the centuries of the dukedom of Naples, remained for a long time confined to the Neapolitans themselves and hardly made any impression on the outside world. With the fall of the dukedom, however, and the rise of a completely new era under the Norman kings, and especially with the brutal invasion of the Imperialists, who dismantled the ancient city of Virgil, the spell was broken, the shrine of patriotic beliefs was violated, and the sacred fire that had fed them was forever quenched. Foreigners to whom the name of the local St. Januarius meant little whereas the name of the world-famed Virgil meant a great deal, and who were aiready convinced of the infinite nature of Virgil's knowledge, eagerly collected and dissemit ated these atories, and, while in the new Naplea, no longer Homan, and hence no longer Virgillan, their production ceased and their very memory became faint, they began to be propagated in even stranger forms throughout the countries of Europe. Prof. Comparetti has filled chapters with these extraordinary tales. Not until after the sitteenth century do the Virgilian legends disappear and become known only to scholars. The age of credulity was now nearly passed and the phantasies which it had generated were dissipated before the light of critical reason and empirical pallosophy. Su great a change, however, could not be other than gradual, and thus the Virgilian stories, though their treatment has become scientific, have left clear traces on learned works which deal with occult sciences. Even in the seventhal and the stake was off question serious chough when the stake was off question fact. But the progress of intellectual regeneration soon brought forgetfulness of the middle ages, which came to be regarded as a distant epoch, little deserving of attention, and, when the Virgilian legends were alluded to, as they were from time to time by scholars, they were striped by the deserving of attention, and, when the Virgilian legends were alived to be regarded as a distant epoch, little deserving of atten forever quenched. Foreigners to whom the whereas the name of the world-famed Virgit

M. W. H.